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SUBJECT: The Islamic Summit: A Preview

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NESA M 87-20010

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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

21 January 1987

The Islamic Summit: A Preview [REDACTED]

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Summary

Sharp disagreements over important issues on the agenda make it unlikely the fifth summit of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) will take any decisive actions. In the face of Iran's current military offensive and efforts to delay the summit, a solution to the Gulf War is not likely. The summit will reaffirm support for an international conference to deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict but is unlikely to make progress toward convening one. The resolution on Afghanistan probably will avoid direct condemnation of the Soviets, reflecting Pakistan's preference not to jeopardize prospects for a peace settlement with Moscow. Kuwaiti hopes of hosting an Arab League summit on the heels of the OIC meeting are unlikely to materialize, although consensus might be reached on the date and agenda for a future League summit in Riyadh. [REDACTED]

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Washington will receive considerable criticism in the OIC summit's communique, a reflection mainly of Arab frustration over US support for Israel and recent revelations of US arms sales to Iran. Moscow probably will be treated less harshly. The Arab press has already given prominent, favorable attention to well-timed Soviet statements calling for an international peace conference on the Middle East and supporting Iraqi calls for a negotiated settlement of the Gulf War. [REDACTED]

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This memorandum was prepared by [REDACTED] Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis. Information as of 21 January 1987 was used in its preparation. Questions and comments should be addressed to Chief, Issues and Applications Division [REDACTED]

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Most of the member nations of the the Islamic Conference plan to send delegations to the summit, which is to open 26 January in Kuwait (See Annex A). Since its creation in 1969, the OIC has provided a forum not only to foster Islamic solidarity and the rights of Muslim minorities but also to address intra-Muslim disputes. Conflicting interests have weakened many OIC resolutions and impeded forceful political and economic action. In addition, the organization is experiencing a severe funding crisis which could limit the scope of its activities (See Annex B). Nonetheless, the OIC offers Muslim leaders a neutral ground for testing major political initiatives and a safe forum to register discontent with superpower policies.

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OIC foreign ministers plan this week to complete an agenda that we believe will give priority to the Iran-Iraq war, the Arab-Israeli conflict and Palestinian problem, and the war in Afghanistan. The stress on Middle Eastern issues is likely to fuel criticism from the more numerous African and Asian members of the OIC, who believe the organization gives insufficient attention to their concerns.

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Kuwait has instituted tight security measures in response to several terrorist threats. Tehran has made a series of veiled threats to the Kuwaitis

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Several Arab terrorist groups also have threatened attacks at the summit (See Annex C).

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Prospective Developments on Priority Issues

The Iran-Iraq War. The OIC Peace Committee will be unable to find a formula to settle the war that would satisfy both sides. Iraqi disillusionment with the lack of progress by the Peace Committee could lead Baghdad to demand the Committee be disbanded or reconstituted.* Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati's recent announcement that Tehran will not attend the summit makes the prospects for negotiating a ceasefire and facilitating dialogue even more remote. Iranian efforts to seek a postponement and a new venue for the summit probably reflect concern for loss of face over military setbacks in December and anger over continuing Kuwaiti logistic and economic support to Iraq. Tehran may also fear embarrassment over revelations about its dealings with Israel.

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We expect the Saudis, who have made tentative steps to balance their relations with Iraq and Iran, probably will try to insure that the OIC resolution on the Gulf War is equitable. The summit resolution probably

*The OIC Peace Committee was formed in 1981 to try to mediate an end to the war. Its members are Gambia, Guinea, Senegal, the Palestine Liberation Organization, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Pakistan, Turkey, and the Secretary General of the OIC.

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OIC SUMMIT AGENDA

IRAN-IRAQ

OIC Peace Committee almost certainly will be unable to find a formula to satisfy both sides ... Iran plans to boycott summit ... OIC resolution probably will call for a ceasefire and appeal to both sides to observe international agreements on treatment of prisoners of war and non-use of chemical weapons.

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT
AND PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

The OIC will reaffirm commitment to an international peace conference with full PLO participation ... condemnation of Israeli and US policies can be expected.

AFGHANISTAN

Pakistan is unlikely to push for direct condemnation of the Soviets ... Afghan Mujahadeen representatives will attend as observers and plan to address summit.

OTHER AGENDA ITEMS

TERRORISM

Suggested by Kuwait ... a compromise resolution probably will be adopted that will condemn all types of terrorism but acknowledge the legitimacy of popular liberation struggles.

US AIRSTRIKES AGAINST LIBYA

Libya wants the OIC to declare US airstrikes a terrorist act ... some sort of anti-US resolution is possible.

ISLAMIC COURT OF JUSTICE

Proposal to establish an Islamic Court is likely to pass but will take at least two or three years to ratify ... Court will focus on reconciling intra-Muslim disputes through Islamic precepts.

ALSO INCLUDED:

The Israeli nuclear threat
Muslim minorities in Bulgaria and the Philippines
Refugees
Apartheid in South Africa
Namibian independence
Economic, scientific, and technical agreements

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will resemble past ones, calling for a ceasefire while appealing to both sides to observe international agreements on the treatment of prisoners of war and non-use of chemical weapons. []

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The Kuwaitis believe that Iraqi President Saddam Husayn will lead his delegation to the summit, according to the US Embassy in Kuwait. The Iraqis could reap a propaganda victory over Iran if, as is likely, they focus on Iranian hypocrisy in dealing covertly with Israel and the United States. Iraqi news media have been pressing this point for weeks. []

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Arab-Israeli Conflict and Palestinians. As in the past, the OIC probably will adopt resolutions reaffirming the commitment of Muslim countries to the liberation of occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. The summit will continue to endorse the Fez Peace Plan proposed by the Arab League in 1982 and again call for a UN-sponsored peace conference on the Middle East that would ensure full participation for the PLO. OIC Secretary General Pirzada told the Kuwaiti press late last year that he will make a strong appeal for holding such a conference in 1987. []

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Standard resolutions condemning Israeli and US policies in the Middle East can be expected. Syria will press for condemnation of the US-Israeli strategic alliance and Israel's decision to annex the Golan Heights. Strong criticism of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and violations of Islamic holy places in Jerusalem will probably emanate from the special report being presented by the OIC committee on Jerusalem. []

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Although Syria will be in the majority on these traditional Arab-Israeli issues, we believe that its support for Lebanese Shia militias in the "camps war" against Palestinians, as well as its widely publicized connections to terrorists, have furthered Damascus' isolation and weakened its bargaining position at the summit. As a result, we expect the PLO and moderate Arab states will be able to derail any Syrian challenge to Egypt's OIC membership and to ward off any Syrian calls for sanctions against Morocco for King Hassan's meeting with then Israeli Prime Minister Peres last July. []

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Afghanistan. We believe the summit will follow the standard OIC line by stressing deep concern over military intervention in Afghanistan but without condemning Moscow directly. Pakistan, the member with the most influence over OIC policy toward Afghanistan, is unlikely to push for stronger anti-Soviet language. Islamabad's position has been that a more explicit condemnation, similar to the resolution the OIC passed in 1980, would jeopardize chances for a political settlement and that a more strongly worded resolution would not pass in any case. We expect recent peace overtures by Kabul and Moscow to the Afghan resistance and UN-mediated peace talks scheduled for Geneva next month will give Pakistan an additional incentive to take a moderate line at the summit. []

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Saudi Arabia, another strong supporter of the Afghan resistance, probably will take an approach similar to Pakistan's. Saudi intelligence chief Turki al-Faisal recently told visiting US officials that Afghan resistance leaders had not even asked for stronger language in the

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prospective OIC resolution. Nonetheless, representatives of the resistance will attend the summit as guests of the Secretary General and will address the meeting, according to the US Consulate in Jeddah. []

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The OIC suspended Afghanistan's membership in 1980. The US Embassy in Kuwait reports there is no current push by OIC members to let representatives of the Afghan resistance fill this seat. []

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Other Topics

International Terrorism. A Kuwaiti initiative to place international terrorism on the agenda will, in our opinion, result in a compromise resolution that strongly condemns violent acts such as plane hijackings but acknowledges the legitimacy of popular liberation struggles. A well-placed source of the US Embassy in Kuwait reports that such a compromise resolution is being circulated in draft to OIC members. Syria probably will attempt to deflect Western criticism of its links to terrorism by pressing for OIC support for a UN-sponsored international conference that would define terrorism and make distinctions between terrorists and freedom fighters. []

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US Airstrike Against Libya. A well-placed source of the US Embassy in Kuwait says that the Libyans want the OIC to declare the US airstrike against Libya last April a terrorist act. We believe that Tripoli and its Syrian and Iranian allies are less well positioned than they were last year when they pressured the OIC to condemn US sanctions against Libya. Libyan activities in Chad have alienated many African and Arab member states, although Tripoli may be able to rally enough support for some sort of anti-US resolution in light of the fallout over US arms sales to Iran. Tripoli probably will send a delegation to lobby for a resolution, but Qadhafi -- who has called the summit "reactionary" and is unwilling to face direct criticism over Chad -- probably will not come. []

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Islamic Court of Justice. The OIC summit is likely to approve a proposal to establish an Islamic Court of Justice. Secretary General Pirzada, who strongly supports the measure, has told US officials in Jeddah that the Islamic Court would focus on disputes between Muslim nations and would apply Islamic precepts to reconcile differences. He said that both Iran and Iraq support formation of a Court and asserted that such a tribunal, had it existed earlier, might have played a role in ending the Gulf War. OIC sources of the US Consulate in Jeddah believe that at least two or three years will elapse after summit approval of the Court proposal before ratification by member states. []

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An Arab League Summit?

We believe that the Kuwaitis have slim prospects for hosting an Arab League summit on the heels of the OIC meeting. They probably will, however, be able to arrange a series of bilateral meetings with visiting Arab leaders that might help reach a consensus for the date and agenda for an Arab League summit in the near future. []

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A regular Arab League summit is overdue; the last one took place at Fez in 1982, when Riyadh was officially chosen as the venue for the next

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one. The US Embassy in Tunis reports there is widespread Arab agreement on the need for a summit in the face of intensified intra-Arab disputes and regional problems. A reliable source of the US Embassy in Riyadh reports that a summit is now possible because Syrian President Assad has agreed to attend and Tunisia is willing to host the meeting if the Saudis are unwilling. [REDACTED]

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Implications for the United States

The OIC is almost certain to take its usual tough stand against US Middle East policies in its final communique. US friends and allies, particularly moderate Arabs, probably will acquiesce to anti-US language as a demonstration of their frustration with consistent US support to Israel and the revelations of US arms sales to Iran. Meanwhile, Baghdad may repeat the allegation, recently voiced by Deputy Prime Minister Ramadan in the US press, that Washington gave faulty intelligence to Iraq in order to prolong the Gulf War. [REDACTED]

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In contrast, we expect the Soviets will fare reasonably well at the summit, taking advantage of US vulnerabilities over the Iran arms sales controversy. Moscow's recent official statements that called for an international peace conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict and backed Baghdad's call for a negotiated settlement of the Gulf War were well-timed to influence OIC members and cap a Soviet effort to woo the Muslim world that began in early 1986. The Arab press has given prominent, favorable attention to Soviet statements on the peace process while Assistant Secretary of State Murphy's recent round of talks has drawn few positive comments. [REDACTED]

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Annex A

Membership of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC)

Algeria	Malaysia
Bahrain	Maldives
Bangladesh	Mali
Benin	Mauritania
Brunei	Morocco
Burkina Faso (formerly	Niger
Upper Volta)	Oman
Cameroon	Pakistan
Chad	Palestine Liberation Organization
Comoros	Qatar
Djibouti	Saudi Arabia
Egypt	Senegal
Gabon	Sierra Leone
The Gambia	Somalia
Guinea	Sudan
Guinea-Bissau	Syria
Indonesia	Tunisia
Iran	Turkey
Iraq	Uganda
Jordan	United Arab Emirates
Kuwait	Yemen Arab Republic
Lebanon	Yemen, People's Democratic
Libya	Republic of

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Annex B

The OIC Faces Financial Squeeze

Secretary General Pirzada will press delinquent members to pay their contributions during the summit. Arrears now total almost \$20 million. [redacted] only Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain have paid their contributions for the current budget year, which began in July 1986. The OIC owes over \$3 million for housing, medical bills, maintenance charges, and travel expenses. It probably will not have enough money for the remainder of the fiscal year to meet staff salaries and expenses unless members pay their fees. [redacted]

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The continuing soft world oil market and depressed oil prices will work against any substantial increase in funding for OIC subsidiaries during the year. The Islamic Development Bank (IDB), the OIC's most important financial organization, faces hard times. Several countries, including Libya and Syria, are not honoring their commitments. The IDB needs to replenish its capital base to be able to maintain recent levels of trade and project financing, but the IDB's prospects for raising new funds are uncertain because contributors have their own revenue shortfalls. If the IDB reduces its lending operations, poorer members such as Oman and Bangladesh may be forced to turn to the United States or other Western donors to help make up the shortfall. [redacted]

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Annex C

Kuwaiti Security Concerns for the Summit

Kuwait has been the target of terrorist attacks since late 1983 (See chart). At least three groups are reportedly planning terrorist operations to disrupt the summit. The Abu Nidal group, which poses the most serious threat

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The Iranian-backed Islamic Jihad, as well-positioned as Abu Nidal, has threatened to launch an attack if Kuwait goes ahead with the summit. The Popular Struggle Front has never conducted operations outside Lebanon

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Concern for the safety of summit attendees has spurred Kuwait to undertake a number of measures to strengthen its counterterrorism capabilities. They have included:

- The establishment of a National Guard bomb disposal squad.
- The purchase of new security equipment, including x-ray devices, metal and explosive detectors, and new armored personnel carriers.
- A restriction since last November on visas issued to foreigners, particularly Palestinians, as part of an effort to keep out potential subversives.
- Upgraded airport security procedures, including temporarily removing Shia security personnel from airport posts.
- Selection of Special Army personnel over the less competent National Guard and police to provide security inside the convention center during the summit.

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Nonetheless, we believe the intensive counterterrorist procedures Kuwaiti security officials have set in place for the summit will be inadequate to stop a determined terrorist or a random attack.

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Arab security services almost certainly will send their best protective forces to guard their leaders.




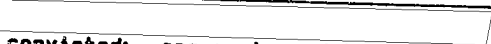






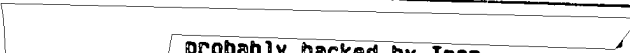
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Given these security measures, we believe terrorist groups may resort to attacks on soft targets such as local restaurants or oil facilities. The principal goals of such attacks would be to create tensions at the summit and embarrass the Kuwaiti Government for its hardline policy toward terrorists. Western missions and facilities, including those of the United States, may also be at risk, although we have no information that terrorist groups are planning to attack them during the summit.

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SELECTED TERRORIST INCIDENTS AGAINST KUWAIT

	EVENT	COMMENT	
DECEMBER 83	 Bombing of US/ French Embassies and Kuwaiti installations.	Seventeen supporters of Dawa Party convicted - still in Kuwaiti jails.	
DECEMBER 84	 Hijacking of Kuwaiti airliner to Iran; two US AID officials murdered.	Failed attempt by Dawa sympathizers to get Dawa prisoners released.	
23 APRIL 85	 Prominent Kuwaiti journalist shot	 Five convicted; one sentenced to life.	25X1
25 MAY 85	 Assassination attempt on Amir by suicide car bomber.	Islamic Jihad claims credit for attack aimed at securing release of Dawa prisoners.	
27 MAY 85	 Firebombing of power station.	 three Iraqi Shias arrested.	25X1
JUNE 85	Attempted killing of Kuwaiti police official.		25X1
11 JULY 85	 Two outdoor cafes bombed; 10 killed.	Arab Revolutionary Brigades (an Abu Nidal alias) takes credit.	
17 JUNE 86	 Three explosions at oil facilities caused extensive damage.	 probably backed by Iran.	25X1 25X1

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